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779 family. Babies lacking in merit died at their birth, just as mothers whose merit had run low suffered or died in childbirth.

84 A soul desiring rebirth flew into the womb of a woman at
[775] conception. By care and imitative magical practices, both
[774] parents helped the fetus grow but the mother gave the baby its
[789] body. Parturition was a joint effort of mother and child, the course and outcome of which was determined by their respective stores of merit. After delivery the child was blessed, his soul seized and tied in, and ritual means taken that he not wander from home throughout life. A post-partum rest of
846 several days was taken beside a hot fire, the purpose of which
392 was both physiological, i.e. to dry the uterus, and ritual, to bring about full "ripe" adulthood.

The fire, which was consecrated, strengthened a woman and made her a better nourisher, mature, more compassionate, and eligible to handle magic and the tender souls of living creatures. Thus she was fitted for her life-calling as a woman.
793 The comparable ceremony of maturation for men, when they too
789 were changed from "raw" to mature, compassionate, and strong
562 males for their calling of fatherhood and leadership, was ordination into the Buddhist priesthood. Only those men and women who had undergone their respective rites of maturation were eligible to handle magic. Men's magic gave power, control and could be aggressive. Women's magic was limited to
[688] nurturing purposes, and could never be destructive. The respective areas of magical competence and right were autonomous and rigidly separated on pain of severe sanctions.

844 This view of the role of women in life and the events of childbirth in the earthly and cosmic scene, had the effect of giving women in childbirth a positive, secure, and relaxed outlook, and an understanding and acceptance of suffering so that they had little fear.

[128] How careers in midwifery, whether professional or amateur were established, and the nature of the specialty and of a practice are discussed.

128 The understanding of, and the attitudes toward, modern
844 medicine are given along with findings accounting for
846 acceptance or rejection of modern hospital care for parturients.
369 Accepting the changes that were observed in the practices
178 surrounding childbirth proved to be a means of expressing partial withdrawal from the old life of a farmer and a step towards the glitter of urban ways. In the desire to be seen as progressive, the fire rest had been shortened, market products substituted for the consecrated fire, and other urban ways introduced.

000 For persons interested in introducing changes in the

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This economic picture indicates that from early childhood, women had engaged in such physical labor that by 18 years of age they had strong muscles and backs through lifting, stooping, and squatting. Since to stop work during pregnancy was construed as laziness, women worked vigorously up to the day of delivery. If a woman were delivered during one of the hectic seasons, she might shorten her post-natal rest to whatever she thought was a safe minimum.

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Marriage

As people of the community often met at the temple, at ceremonies, and at work parties, there too young people met. Unmarried girls went freely and often alone on duties about the community, and also to Minburi to sell vegetables or take a load of paddy to the mill. To temple fairs and such they went in groups. Though parents hoped their children would marry within the community, a few young people "married out."

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Girls were married between 17 and 27 or so, most frequently around 21 to 23. Since boys at 21 might have to serve 2 years in the army, and were urged to spend as well at least a few months in the priesthood, their marriages took place between 22 and 30, most often around 24 or so. Parents were in no hurry to marry off their grown children at the very age when their productivity was funneling wealth back into the family. However, if male help in the family were short, parents were more receptive to suitors. No girl was married against her wishes nor to a stranger.[4] Marriages might be arranged through formal conversations opened by the man's family and carried on through a go-between, but the girl had the final say. A secret agreement between the partners might even precede negotiations. About half of the marriages were elopements, sometimes arranged because negotiations were dragging, sometimes to avoid the higher costs of more formal arrangements. Marriage, though largely based on socio-economic factors (Phillips:62) was not devoid of personal esteem. Sharp (Bang Chan data at Cornell) has a note on the desirable qualities in a husband as viewed by women. "Sexual virility," last on the list, was minimized in relation to such qualities as "religiousness," "wealth," "industriousness," which headed the list.

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4. A person who uses magical means to force an unwilling woman's love "will be born 500 times as a mad dog."

Influences on Health

In Bang Chan, a discussion of sickness and health merely in terms of element balance would be true but insufficient, or even superficial. After all, whether manipulated by oneself or by a professional curer, elements could only be controlled within certain limits. Far deeper questions were posed, probing the ultimate nature of health, life, and death. What determined the particular proportions of a person's 4 elements with which he had been born, and whether he had, say, a preponderance of wood from Jupiter or gold from Venus? The immediate answer of astrological confluences on the date of birth would be true, for each day had its own qualities and aspects, but it was not enough. Why had he been born on that date to that set of governing factors? In life, why did one person meet the circumstances that created illness, while another lived in glorious health? The answers to these questions must be sought in the Buddhist moral and cosmic beliefs.

The Buddhist universe operated on a principle of immutable law. Each person received his just due, suffering for his own sins, enjoying reward for his virtue. There was no personified deity to help, forgive, or blame. Moreover, attachments were the cause of sorrow. Because existence was fraught with desires, all life was basically painful. Even flashes of happiness by their cessation caused sorrow.

In this universe and on this earth, individuals, each a unique and independent entity, were born to live and die, over and over again, throughout eons of time. They bore no relation to each other. Separate and autonomous, each was in charge of his own destiny. All beings formed a single grand scale of existence from demons in hell, through such lowly creatures as worms and insects, upward through dogs, cats, buffaloes, and elephants to mankind, then on up to angels and gods in the last paradises before the peace of Nipphān (Nirvana).

The insight of the Buddha showed the way to break the sorrowful eternal cycle of rebirth and reach Nipphān. The Buddha perceived that meritorious behavior caused one to progress up this ladder of existence toward freedom from incarnation. In each life merit (bun) could be accumulated by compassionate behavior: caring for priests, and being kind and generous to persons less able to care for themselves. With merit one's next life was happier and freer of restrictions. A dog had more merit than a worm, a buffalo than a dog. [825]

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775 Man was higher on the scale than woman.[20] Progress toward
[562] Nipphan was not assured but had to be earned. With sinful behavior a person might be catapulted back to being a beast. He who stole would "be born and die 500 times before he could even grow up." Almost everyone had to be sent to purgatory
[776] where demons carried on tortures until he had suffered enough to be released for rebirth. The evil spirits (phī) that wandered frighteningly in Bang Chan were part of the legions whose job was to increase deserved suffering on this earth.

771 The people of Bang Chan felt they could discern even
782 of themselves who was meritful and who was not according to
828 human circumstances, constitution, and behavior. A meritorious person was healthy, happy, and successful in all undertakings. He enjoyed good wealth and long life, a kindly personality, many fine children, wealth, high status, intelligence, and luck. Astrologically, he was born on a day
[775] of good confluences, of gold and auspicious signs. He who lacked merit, because of sins committed perhaps many ages ago, was born on an unfortunate day. He suffered early death,
[763] deformities, unhappiness, poverty, and had a cruel nature. Illness, whether supernatural or natural, whether induced by wind or sorcery or what, struck as part of the suffering brought on by former sin. It was accepted in the conviction that whoever suffered had brought it on himself. When merit ran out, or when sin cancelled out and then exceeded one's merit, suffering and premature death occurred, despite all human efforts. Because of the prevalence of illness and of life's difficulties, major and minor, no one, no matter how outwardly fortunate and so evidently meritorious, had at this earthly level of existence enough merit to escape some suffering and frustration. By the same token, though, no person was without hope. By making merit or by suffering in this life, existence would be happier in the next. The making of merit was in the forefront of daily conscious effort and even conversations of the people of Bang Chan.

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784 The long-range protection against all illness was to
[577] live virtuously and make merit. However, to guard against
[782] temporary supernatural intrusions, everyone possessed and
[304] usually wore Buddha lockets and other amulets. Some underwent tatooing, men having Cambodian or other figures, women, 3 small dots tatooed on the torso under the arm.

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20. Men had achieved greater "other-worldliness" while women were more bound by the phenomena of the flesh (cf. Kirsch, 1961).

Chapter III

PREGNANCY AND PARTURITION

842 **Conception**

Conception occurred when a khwan-soul flew into the womb of a woman during sexual intercourse. "A father and a mother are equally important because there is no birth in the world without both. An infant is the product of both sexes," said a priest in a Bang Chan sermon.[21]

842 775 [782] [828] The little being in the womb from the moment of conception was a specific individual who had lived many times before, maritful or sinful according to its previous actions. Desire for rebirth was in itself evidence of inadequate merit to effect release from incarnation. Though this life was to some extent a fresh start, his character (nisai) and heart (jhai) were already largely formed through his store of merit and ingrained habit from former existences.[22]

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[779] 21. The teachings of the Buddha state: "Rebirth takes place when a father and a mother come together, and it is the mother's period, and the one to be born is present" (Suriyabongse:20).

22. He bore with him the last ideas spoken to him at his most recent death. The Visuddhi-Magga tells how this carry-over occurs. One of the categories of karma, was the "close at hand, karma remembered at the point of death [which] springs up with [a person] in rebirth" (Warren:246). As King Mongkut lay dying, everyone in the room called out "arahat!" in his ear incessantly so that by "remembering it at the point of death" he might be reborn an Arahat (E.R.E. "Siam": 487). Another pertinent category of karma was the "habitual": "karma that has become habitual through frequent repetition. This brings on rebirth when [other] forms are absent" (Warren:246). Here is the basis for the inborn character, heart and ingrained habit (cf. J.R. Hanks, 1959, and the section below on "Habit" (khoei).

On the other hand, pregnancy was a period of uncertainty when a woman was easily upset emotionally. Because childbirth was "like a war" when a woman might die, "defeated by her pregnancy"(phaethong), she felt uneasy.[24] If she were frightened, her child's khwan would fly off in terror. The baby died in the womb if its khwan did not return. Because of increased sensitivity and vulnerability her elements and those of the baby were frequently thrown off balance. Wind easily entered through the thin skin of her stomach where she carried the unborn child. It caused pre-natal disorders all the way from queasiness and minor vomiting in early pregnancy to miscarriage and death. "A woman felt dizziness and numbness because of wind in the fetus. In a month she suffered a miscarriage."

A pre natal pain that did not seem to be a labor-pain was diagnosed as the very dangerous neam, "a thick lump of blood and wind that moved quickly." As in other illnesses, element harmony was restored by medicines, holy water, and by modifications of diet.

Women knew of possible supernatural invasions of the womb during pregnancy. If a woman had beforehand lost a baby at birth or through miscarriage, and the body had not been properly buried, she might be seriously troubled by its restless ghost, fully as powerful, it must be remembered, as an adult's.

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24. The image of battle was traditional (cf. Anuman Rajadhon: 108). Phaethong (McF: 599), a combination of food craving and vomiting (Anuman Rajadhon:115) paralleled the dola-duka of Ceylon (cf. Obeyesekere), but without the hostilities built in by the Sinhalese.

843 [775] She might also be troubled by the ghost of anyone who had died violently. This ghost, a phī tai thang klom, caused "the worst of all possible deaths." The phi krasū spirit,[25] entering through her anus, also might cause death by consuming her faeces, organs or the child's entrails. It was more dangerous during and after childbirth than during pregnancy (Textor:304-320). The [753] supernatural disease missile called "khun" might also strike. "If the mother is under 9 months pregnant, the baby inside can protect (itself). If this happens during the ninth month, the doctor uses holy water to extract it at the time of birth." Khun was recognized by "extra pain [751] occurring just before the baby comes out." To protect themselves, women wore extra talismans or had 2 dots [304] tattooed under the arm.

843 845 There was no assumption that what was born was inevitably to be human. When people said of a woman who had died pregnant, "the child ate the mother;" or, at a miscarriage, "the mother ate her child," or if many of a couple's children died, "they eat their children," the charge might be merely the comment of a vituperous neighbor, but the reality of vicious, autonomous beings, human or otherwise, in the womb was unmistakable. A certain woman died pregnant. The fetus, removed surgically, was observed to have 2 visible teeth, which indicated it was a non-human, iak (giant). However, a child might also be the soul of an angel in the form of a falling star that entered the womb in the advanced stages of pregnancy. "If such a baby lives it is pure and is a very wonderful child." Episodes were described of women giving birth to "gold," "jewels," "a monkey," "a fish's stomach," and a mouse-like "Golden Child." Sometimes these

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[771] [783] [514] [262] 25. This spirit ate like a dog, not like a human being, in eating faeces and putrid meat (McF.48). No revulsion nor idea of filth and contamination was found in Bang Chan's attitudes about faeces or urine. The infant in the womb sat peaceably on the mother's faeces. It was lucky to dream of faeces. In daily life human and animal excretions, like sins at the festival of Loy Krataung, were carried away by the canal waters. Bang Chan Buddhists recognized a need for cleansing, but not for purification. Since neither faeces nor sins were filthy the water was not contaminated. Even putrid meat was not disgusting in the context of the perishability of the flesh, but as food it was revolting. Muslims, however, had built in contamination to their concept of sin, so required purification.

Sometimes these aberrancies were viewed as desirable sources of supernatural power, but on other occasions, they were seen as a sign of demerit, caused embarrassment, and were suffocated at once (if alive), and buried.

If a woman died pregnant, her body was at once brought to the temple where the unborn child was removed surgically. The usual solacing sermon, rites "to lead the deceased to live in her right place in the next world," and cremation took place, with the fetus laid beside its mother so that it "would come out normally." The mother and child were separated to prevent a ghost which was double-powered. No prayers were chanted at home before exsection "lest they make the power of the spirit stronger." Moreover, any violent or premature death caused an angry ghost. The ghost of a premature child had a heavy load of sin, for its stay in purgatory, where sin was worked off, had been interrupted (Textor:262). An unscrupulous mɔ̄ was eager to get possession of any ghost for use in sorcery, and a double ghost was stronger than any other. Ghosts were obtained by plundering the mortuary chambers of the temple prior to cremation. By feeding (liang) it, a mɔ̄ controlled it. The ghost of a male infant was preferable because it was "stronger than that of a female." In the light of this situation, not only should the body of a pregnant woman never be left alone " so that no one can get at them (sic)," but a pregnant woman herself ought not to be alone.[26] The behavior towards the Rice Goddess, Mother Posop, who was "pregnant" when the grains in the stalk filled out, illuminated many of these attitudes: "Mae Posop feels weak, hungry, and uneasy. She is eager to taste sour and sweet foods. She is a woman and beautiful in her pregnancy." To allay her hunger the

845 847 845 766 [775] 845 775 754 775 843 782 [754] 843 782 776

26. In Cambodia, a pregnant woman might be murdered, even by her husband, so that the murderer might gain the malevolent power that possession of her now double soul would afford. (E.R.E. "Cambodia": p.159). This specific statement was not found in Bang Chan but might be part of the shadowy background to local reluctance to leave a pregnant woman alone. [171]

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775 Moreover, her life would some day begin again. Whether birth
844 was rapid or slow, the experience of the suffering deepened her sense of compassion and, as will be shown, brought her closer to fulfillment of her life role.[41]

Habit

153 If mutual help organized relationships, habit (khōei)
82 stabilized them. Khōei means "to be used to, accustomed to,
853 habituated." A first occurrence was an example and set the pattern for all subsequent occurrences. With one performance
[761] one was accustomed to an action. For instance, shortly after the temple was built 2 people died, deaths in Bang Chan "always occurred in pairs;" it was the temple's "habit." Moverover, "the head priest could never expel a priest because he had never done so." Again, a few women saw to it that during this period their babies were given a few grains of rice (even though they were far too young to be offered any rice regularly), so that "later on, if they got sick,
[171] they could always at least eat rice," for "they would be used to it." "Glutinous rice was not good for babies in Bang Chan, but in North Thailand [where it was a staple] it could be eaten because people were used to it." Someone had set the example which started the custom.

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844 41. Bang Chan's Buddhist phrasing of the meaning of pain and
154 death in childbirth seems to indicate that childbirth occurred
171 under psycho-cultural conditions that induced relaxation and
114 reduced fear and pain. An "easy" delivery lasted 2 hours. According to a modern medical theory, (Dick-Read: Childbirth Without Fear, passim) lack of fear of childbirth leads to mental and physical relaxation which in turn reduces pain and labor. Dr. Dan Bradley observed that labor was shorter among Siamese women than among non-Siamese. "Facts seem to prove that parturition is both shorter and easier to Siamese mothers than is usual to Europeans and Americans" (Bradley, 1865:79). We accept his first-hand observation because he had 40 or more years of experience in delivering babies, both Thai and non-Thai (missionary wives, etc.), and suggest that it may be taken as proof of mental and physical relaxation derived from lack of fear. Although the missionary women may have been frightened because they were in a far country, Dick-Read argues that fear of childbirth has long been present among American women and this fear has the effect of longer, harder labor.

retreat (ōk phansā) in order that her child would come out (ōk) more easily. Here none sought to divide the worlds of the natural and the supernatural, or to mark off "imitative magic" from the "learning by example of the natural world." A stronger influence came from more powerful agents, so that the effects of the Buddhist temple carried greater effect than the actions of a mere neighbor. Yet any like influence was of aid, especially in a verbal similarity. Thus, an event occurring on a Friday was apt to be auspicious because the Thai name for Friday contains an element identical in sound (though etymologically different) to the word for happiness (wansuk=Friday; suk=happiness), and for the fortunate status of true adulthood (suk=mature, ripe).

Stability in a Floating World

In explaining why some children were "born easily and were easy to raise" (liang ngaī) certain persons simply said, "They were born into the right family. Those born to the wrong family usually die." In defining the "right" family, merit, habituation, and helpfulness converge.

Most families were thought to live together as a group in life after life. In view of the separateness of souls, how was this brought about? The key lay in the conviction that people who made merit together met in future lives. Since most merit-making was undertaken as an enterprise of the nuclear family, sometimes with close kinsmen and friends, they would find each other. Some of the eagerness of friends to help (chuāi ngān) with cash or labor was in order to meet in later lives. These persons were used to each other, used to helping each other, and so might marry. Thus, if they lived rightly, the nuclear family, maybe with an infusion of beloved old friends, expected to carry on in the next existence. Although a family's prosperity proved its merit, and its wealth facilitated making more merit, continuity in time was not limited to the wealthy. Proof that a couple had been married in a previous life lay in the birth of a boy as first born. Such a couple was known as a "khū" (pair), and divorce was held to be highly unlikely.

How did a child find its "right" family? After whatever necessary stay in purgatory, the khwan soul of a deceased member roosted in a tree near to its old home, then flew into an accustomed womb. One recalls the start of the blessing (p.48), "Come, khwan! Come my own child!" A woman hoped that the khwan was one previously born to her. "A couple lost its first child. Later the wife was fearing for the life of their sickly second-born." The husband said, "It is according to your sin and merit. If the child is your own child, he will live with you. If not, he cannot."

761 Since only meritorious children were born into the
775 "right family," they were helpful and so easy to raise. The
593 easiest to raise were reincarnations of babies deceased in
829 the mother's present life. "A girl of three died. Her father
782 dreamed he was at her coffin. She asked for water which he gave her, then brought her home. Months later a boy was born, so easily raised up that people knew it was a reincarnation of that girl." Here amiability and the change to male sex demonstrated merit. In another tale, "a woman lost many babies at birth. Her husband, thinking it was the same child trying to be born to that mother, marked the forehead of the last deceased baby. His surmise proved correct, because the next baby born had this mark on its forehead."

This assumption that a woman's children were born to her over and over led to a measure of control over the cooperativeness of the child in the womb. A child trained to "good habits" became a meritorious adult who, when reborn, would of course "help" his mother in childbirth. It was advisable to set one's own child into paths of proper behavior, for he could be born again to a descendent, and in all likelihood to oneself.

On the other hand, families were not closed groups. "Like a leech that sticks in one place, then goes to stick somewhere else, so a deceased person may be reborn somewhere else," said a priest. The marriage blessing stated, "May angels, not criminals or beggars, reincarnate as your children." Thus was explained why upright parents might have a disobedient, roaming child. He had roamed into a new family which perhaps he had met during a pleasant casual visit to them in another life. If he did not stay home to make merit with his present family, a wayward child would roam out of it as easily as he came in. Here was the ultimate danger in visiting around too much.

761 Because all individuals lacking in merit died off at
593 birth, some of whom because they got into the wrong family,
782 a selective process continuously weeded out the extremely non-meritorious so that those who were born usually survived. In fact, Hauck's figure of 90.6 live births
[163] (1956:33), the percentage of total pregnancies shows how many meritorious babies were born to the right family!

852 The Winnowing Ceremony

844 This ceremony, described in Dũan's tale, was usually
774 performed shortly after delivery, though it might occur anytime during the first three days of a baby's life. The child, placed on the tray (twins were laid together or separately) was claimed by the mother or the father, who

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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lying configuration.) However, from the point of view of their etiology in the individual, it is clear that the villagers' tendencies toward loose relationships are related to early childhood experiences. A second source is their philosophical notions concerning the nature of the individual. These notions are largely cultural derivatives of Buddhist doctrine, although at the behavioral level they function simply as unstated premises which guide and tacitly define behavior.[28]

Reference was made earlier to the basic assumptions governing the socialization of the Bang Chan child. When the child enters the world of human beings, he is already a partially formed and psychologically independent individual, with his own *ʔupanidsaj* (ingrained character) and *khwaan* (soul-stuff), not to mention his stock of accumulated merit and demerit from countless previous lives which predetermines his character. The effect of these definitions is not only to award to the child a sense of psychic individuality that is partially[29] independent of any social environment to which he is exposed, but to assign to him a fundamental sense of psychological equality. We are not speaking here of *social* equality. The

[28] From a strict analytic point of view, it would probably be best to consider Buddhist doctrine as an abstract, codified representation of these premises rather than consider the premises as explicit, logically coherent deductions from Buddhist doctrine. To be sure, many Bang Chaners often explain and justify their actions by pointing directly to Buddhist doctrine, sometimes applying its tenets correctly, and sometimes not. But for most, Buddhism is a diffuse, ubiquitous *Weltanschauung*, the precise effects and applications of which the villagers are typically unconscious. It would probably not be incorrect to think of most religious "traditions," particularly the "Great" codified ones, as functioning in this way.

[29] The term "partially" is inserted here to indicate that despite these ontological notions, few villagers, as J. R. Hanks (1959) points out, ever consider "any human child so marvelously endowed . . . from previous existences that training is unnecessary." The child's *ʔupanidsaj*, *khwaan*, merit and demerit, as well as his *winjaan* (psychological motive power), *caj* (heart), and *phroomlikhid* ("the lines of his destiny as established by Brahma") are all crucial predeterminants of his character. But few Bang Chaners ever think of a person's character as due solely to the uncontrolled emergence of these pre-natal forces. Rather, they represent the basic psychological raw material with which parents and other socializing agents must work, and set the limits of these agents' enculturating efforts. What is important is that the limits—the "degrees of freedom" permitted the parents—tend to be narrowly defined. Intensive probing of informants indicates that there is no general agreement on whether these cosmological forces are more or less influential than parental training in shaping a child, although they tend to be invoked more frequently as explanations of negative characteristics and of unusual happenings, positive as well as negative, in the lives of individuals. Also, villagers are inclined to think of them as the reasons behind *particular* characteristics and events, assigning to parental training a more diffuse influence in the development of the child. Thus, when asked why a particular individual grew up to be a *nagkleeng* (an aggressive, daring, sometimes bullying type of person) and how one of their fellow Bang Chaners had grown up to become an admiral in the Thai Navy, informants attributed the character and success of these individuals respectively to their *ʔupanidsaj* and *kam*. (*Kam*, the Thai derivative of *karma*, is the proportion of merit to demerit that a person may have at any particular moment in

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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TABLE 19

He was most afraid of . . .
The thing raw is most afraid of is (namely) . . .

THREATS TO PHYSICAL WELL-BEING:	61%	poverty. If he had enough, he would not be afraid.
		having nothing to eat. I mean when there is a flood, and all the paddy is lost, and we will starve because there is no rice to eat.
		not having enough to eat.
		having fever; getting sick and having no money.
		fire, because when a house catches fire it is a great loss.
		death.
		snakes. He is not afraid of ghosts. He can walk in the dark. But snakes are dangerous. He does not like to go anywhere after dark.
ACTIONS OF OTHERS:	20%	people. When she had money, she was afraid she would be robbed. When she did not have any, she was in difficulty.
		her father beating her.
MALEVOLENT SPIRITS:	10%	ghosts; but if there were no choice (no place to go, no way to get out of the situation), then she could manage.
		death; of ghosts haunting him. If the ghosts don't haunt him, he is not afraid.

topics) it was noted that, "uneasiness, when it occurs, is accepted as a social psychological fact of life; it is not felt as a threat to the integrity of the personality." The data here would tend to reinforce that conclusion. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that 20 percent of the informants do give what is at least symbolic expression to their fear of others, and it would, therefore, be most inappropriate to go to the other extreme and assert that villagers have no anxiety about interpersonal relationships. I also noted in the earlier discussion that "the nervousness that is betrayed indicates some of the internal strain that villagers undergo in having to maintain a constant front of politeness." This appears to be a case of their simply accepting—without worry, shame, or any other secondary anxiety—their own shortcomings. The anxiety that is experienced is just not *felt* as a psychological burden.

One of the responses above, although idiosyncratic, merits attention. This is the response of the villager, age 52, who says that she is frightened by her *karma*: "it depends on *raw's* mind [or heart]. Some people are afraid of ghosts. They see things and they believe that they see ghosts. That is not right. They see falling leaves and they think that is a ghost. There is nothing when they approach. The most frightening thing is bad *karma*. It

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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*125 *128 152 828 • [775] follows you. If you kill a living thing in this life, a living thing will kill you in the next life." What is surprising is that there are not more responses of this type, especially from older villagers. The psychological significance of this kind of response is of course most difficult to assess. Although on the surface it is an expression of personal inadequacy—an expression that the informant has not done as well for herself as she could have—its essentially timeless and unpredictable quality (one never knows when the product of bad *kam* will issue) almost takes it out of the sphere of direct emotional import. It is in fact an inordinately intellectualized response, probably just as expressive of the informant's sense of psychological security as it is expressive of her anxiety. Although bad *kam* is an omnipresent and unavoidable anxiety, the fact that one can make merit to reduce such *kam* and the possibility that one might in fact have less bad *kam* than one's anxiety would lead one to believe (one never knows) is a source of considerable psychological comfort.

*125 *128 152 The next item, *"His greatest problem was . . ."* is somewhat more cerebral and reflective than the preceding one. Villagers are asked to indicate not what frightens them, but what worries and generally concerns them. Thus, although their responses are in many ways similar to those given on the previous item, they are also considerably less extreme. All reference to malevolent spirits, for example, is missing here. Again, the majority of villagers (57 percent) describe as their greatest problem their well-being and survival. Their responses, however, lack the sense of trepidation that colored their earlier replies. Here, twelve villagers phrase their replies in terms of worrying about obtaining money, being rich, having money to spend, and the like, rather than in the more plaintive terms of being anxious about poverty, a response given by only one villager. Thirteen informants also say that they are worried about "making a living" or their "work," responses that are more ambiguous than the above in that it is difficult to determine whether villagers are worried about having sufficient income from the work or are disturbed by difficulties involved in the work itself (how their rice crop is coming along). Nine informants say that they are worried about starving, not having enough to eat; one is worried about illness; one about floods; and none about death or poisonous snakes. The reappearance of the food response should not of course be overlooked.

The second major category, encompassing the responses of 24 percent of the sample, relates to worrying about other people. However, almost half these responses (11 percent of the total) are protective and succoring responses, where ego is concerned with preventing harm to his family. The other 13 percent describe ego's concern about getting along with other people. Two of these responses refer explicitly to the informant's worry over the words he chooses in relating to others or that he speak sensibly.

125
[789]

22. Have you consulted with a medium frequently, occasionally, seldom, or never?

1. Frequently	7
2. Occasionally	4
3. Seldom	66
4. Never	856

[775] 23. Have you been disturbed by a ghost frequently, occasionally, seldom, or never?

5. Frequently	6
6. Occasionally	8
7. Seldom	55
8. Never	864

[641] 24.a. Excuse me, could you tell me, who is now the prime minister of Thailand? If you know, could you please tell me his name?

1. Correct answer	193
2. Incorrect answer	89
3. DK, cannot recall	111

b. Excuse me, could you tell me, who is now the chief of police of Thailand? If you know, could you please tell me his name?

4. Correct answer	167
5. Incorrect answer	24
6. DK, cannot recall	142

25.a. IF R LIVES IN BC COMMUNE: Who is the district officer in Minburi? If you know, could you please tell me his name?

1. DA, as from Bangkapi	194
2. Correct name of present DO	9
3. Correct name of past DO	—
4. Incorrect name	16
5. DK, cannot recall	111
— No Answer	3

b. IF R LIVES IN KY COMMUNE: Who is the district officer in Bangkapi? If you know, could you please tell me his name?

6. DA, as from Minburi	141
7. Correct name of DO	10
8. Incorrect name	—
9. DK, cannot recall	154
— No Answer	28

[434] [829] [556] 26.a. Throughout the world and here in Bang Chan-Khanno Yao too, it is common among men that there must be some who are rich and some who are poor and some who are neither rich nor poor. How about you yourself? Are you rich, or poor or neither rich nor poor?

1. Rich	2
2. Poor	68
3. Neither	863

b. IF POOR: Here in BC-KY, do you think there are many or few people who are poorer than you?

5. Many	30
6. Few	31
7. Unascertainable	7

125 42.c. IF DISAGREE: For what various reasons do you disagree?

[369]
[829] If Disagreement (See code at end)

[793] 43. Do you agree or disagree that all priests are honest and
[792] moral men?

X.	Agree	197
Y.	Disagree	90
0.	Undecided	40
—	No Answer	6

[829] 44. Do you think it is right or wrong for a Thai to marry a Chinese?

1.	Right	55
2.	Wrong	182
3.	Unascertainable	91
—	No Answer	5

[775] 45. Do you believe that ghosts bother people? Strongly, somewhat, or not at all?

4.	Strongly	40
5.	Somewhat	136
6.	Not at all	124
7.	Unascertainable	28
—	No Answer	5

[653] 46.a. During the past year, have there been any activities for the public welfare in BC Mat, or not, to which you contributed labor?

1.	Yes	231
2.	No	102

b. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute labor?

_____

_____

c. During the past year or so, have there been any activities for the public welfare in the wat, or not, to which you contributed money or goods?

1.	Yes	264
2.	No	69
—	No Answer	6

[651] d. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute money or goods?

_____

_____

47.a. How about activities not connected with the wat or with religious ceremonies in the home. During the past year, have there been any such activities for the public welfare in BC-KY, to which you contributed labor, or not?

1.	Yes	94
2.	No	232
3.	Unascertainable	7